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SELECTIONS FROM SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY JOURNALS

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U. S. POLICY IN EL SALVADOR ATTACKED, REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE ANALYZED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 12, Dec 81 pp 5-20

[Article by I. M. Motin: "El Salvador: Struggle Continues"]

[Text] The political situation within El Salvador has become aggravated further. As a result of successful actions of its patriots, the process of the delimitation of forces has accelerated considerably, and the positions of the combating camps have become more clear-cut. By the middle of 1981, the beginning of the new stage of active field operations of the National Liberation Front imeni Farabundo Marti, some qualitative changes took place in the arrangement of forces, which had a substantial effect on the entire subsequent progress of the struggle against the anti-national regime of the military Christian democratic junta.

On one side of the barricades, we find the overwhelming majority of the Salvadoran people who are struggling under the guidance of revolutionary organizations for radical democratic changes in the existing structure of the Salvadoran society. On the other side of the barricades stands the ruling junta controlled -- particularly after the withdrawal of the representatives of the democratic trend of the Christian Democratic Party (KhDP) from it and the expulsion of one of the leaders of the October (1979) coup and leader of the "military youth" movement, A. Ma jano -- almost entirely by the right reactionary wing of the armed forces, a traditional ally of the local oligarchy receiving ever increasing aid, primarily military, from the Reagan Administration.

The junta is supported by the military machinery which includes the army, national guards, security service, police and other armed organizations. All of them openly cooperate with ultraright militarized bands, and their operations are coordinated by the minister of defense, Colonel Jose Gilermo Garcia, who is known for his close ties with the Central Intelligence Agency. The junta is supported by leading organizations of enterprises which are members of the "Production Alliance", such as the National Association of Private Enterprise (ANEP), Salvadoran Association of Industrialists, Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and others, as well as by the KhDP leadership.

The next reorganization of the ruling junta which took place in December 1980 (J. Duarte became its president, and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, Colonel J. Gutierrez, became its vice-president) strengthened the positions of local reaction even more. Duarte, who had been aspiring to take this post throughout

his entire political career, deviated almost entirely from his former positions of the "right center" and became, in essence, a participant and the most zealous representative of the dictatorial regime. The expansion of punitive operations and more and more active collaboration of the army with ultraright militarized organizations of the fascist type, such as the "nationalistic democratic organization" ["ORDEN"], "armed forces of anticommunistic liberation" ["FALANGE"], "white soldier union", and others¹, indicate an ever-increasing evolution of the policy of the ruling junta in the right direction.

Special Characteristics of the Development of the Revolutionary Process in El Salvador and the Consolidation of Left Forces

The struggle of El Salvador's patriots is developing during the period of an upsurge of the liberation movement in Central America brought about by the victory of the Sandinists' national revolution which "made a breach" in the bastion of reactionary forces and American imperialism which had existed in this region in the course of many decades. The Sandinists overcame the "psychological barrier" and paved the way to liberation for fraternal peoples.

However, the Salvadoran revolutionary process has a clearly expressed specificity due to the historical traditions of the struggle of the people of this country. After the suppression of a powerful people's uprising in 1932, when the strengthening revolutionary movement was rendered practically leaderless, a rather strong structure of the ruling block was established in El Salvador. It was based on un-failing alliance of the upper agrarian-industrial and commercial-financial bourgeoisie with the reactionary military clique depending on constant help and support of American monopolies.

Specific characteristics of the class struggle were reflected also in the variety of organizational forms of the struggle of the working masses under the conditions of a prolonged crisis which has affected all aspects of life of the Salvadoran society in recent years and has been accompanied by the intensification of repressions and prosecutions of the representatives of democratic forces. The path to unity of the leading revolutionary organizations and the development of a common strategy and tactics by them also had distinctive characteristics. The revolutionary process in El Salvador developed along two main directions: unification of revolutionary organizations and their transformation into a single militant vanguard of the Salvadoran people simultaneously with the formation of unions and associations of mass revolutionary and democratic organizations. Due to this, organizational strengthening and solidarity were achieved in the actions of wide sections of the population².

A new stage of the struggle of Salvadoran patriots began in October 1980 when FNOFM was formed. The insurgent army bears the name of Agustin Farabundo Marti, as a

1. This is told in detail by Captain(Francisco Mena Sandoval') of the Salvadoran Army, who deserted to the insurgents. See: GRANMA, La Habana, 7 Feb 1980; AREITO, New York, 1981, No 26, p 28.

2. For more detail see: PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA [Problems of Peace and Socialism], 1981, No 1, pp 76-80; LATINSKAYA AMERIKA [Latin America], 1981, No 8, pp 5-22.

tribute of profound respect and recognition of the services of the famous freedom fighter, one of the founders and the leaders of the Communist Party of El Salvador³.

The struggle began by Farabundo Marti and his comrades was continued by the new generation of Salvadoran revolutionaries, who, in the course of difficult class battles, succeeded in overcoming the existing differences and forming a single military political leadership and an insurgent army.

The highest military political agency of FNOFM is the United Revolutionary Leadership (ORR) created in May 1980, which, as was mentioned in its program document, "will develop and use a military-political line common for all, direct the revolutionary war of the heroic Salvadoran people until its victory, lead it to the establishment of a revolutionary democratic government and implementation of profound political and socioeconomic reforms..."⁴. The development and the coordination of all military operation was entrusted to the united headquarters of the FNOFM General Headquarters. Four main fronts of military operations were opened and named after the leaders of Indian uprisings and fighters for El Salvador's independence: central front imeni Modesto Ramirez, western front imeni Feliciano Ama, eastern front -- imeni Francisco Sanchez, and front imeni Anastasio Aquino.

Three types of formations are fighting under the FNOFM's banner: regular units (army), partisan detachments, and people's militia. The army, just as the partisan detachments, consists chiefly of soldiers specially trained and having combat experience (special schools were created by FNOFM for this purpose). It operates on a nationwide scale and is shifted according to plans of the headquarters to zones of the most important forthcoming battles. Partisan detachments operate in particular regions,

3. A. Farabundo Marti was born in 1893 in the city of Teotepec (Libertad Department) in a farmer's family. "Negro Marti's" (as he was called by his comrades) active participation in the revolutionary movement began during his college student days. He studied law and social sciences at the National University of El Salvador. He was arrested for the first time after the dispersal of a students' demonstration in 1920. In 1925, Farabundo Marti founded the Communist Party of Central America in the city of Guatemala (besides him, El Salvador's representatives in this party were Miguel Angel Vasquez and Moises Castro Morales.) In 1926-1928, he actively worked in the Regional Federation of Workers which was connected with the international working class movement. In accordance with the resolution of the federation on helping the liberation struggle of the Nicaraguan people against American interventionists, Farabundo Marti went to Nicaragua and soon became one of the closest comrades-in-arms of Augusto Cesar Sandino. Farabundo Marti carried great authority with common working people. The authorities tried to punish him many times, put him in jail, but the people managed to get him released. The Communist Party of El Salvador organized by him and his comrades headed the people's uprising against the dictatorship of General Martinez in January 1932 which was brutally suppressed: more than 20,000 people were killed. The majority of the leaders of the uprising were also killed. On the first of February 1932, A. Farabundo Marti, Alfonso Luna and Mario Zapata were executed by shooting.

4. Manifiesto de la Direccion Revolucionaria Unificada de las organizaciones politico-militares al pueblo salvadoreno, a los pueblos centroamericanos y del mundo, San Salvador, mayo de 1980.

which makes it possible for them to study the terrain well, establish reliable contacts with local people, and to conduct propaganda work among the population more effectively. The people's militia does not consist of professional soldiers (except detachment commanders), but of workers, peasants, and students, who, by order of the headquarters, participate in military operations, in the organization of defense of the masses during demonstrations, meetings, etc.

FNOFM's leaders maintain daily contact with the Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF) formed in April 1980 with participation of leading national organizations, trade unions, students' and other associations, and main oppositional parties -- National Revolutionary Movement and Social Christian People's Movement. RDF has also spread an active solidarity campaign in support of the just struggle of the Salvadoran people⁵.

After the January offensive of 1981, the General Headquarters of the FNOFM decided to regroup their forces and equip them better with arms and ammunitions. Moreover, and this was very important for subsequent military operations, time was required for a thorough analysis of the acquired experience in military operations coordinated on the scale of the entire country, generalization of the results of their interaction under the condition of the new government structure and solution of the arising problems. At the same time, it was a period of accumulation of forces, when extensive political propaganda work among the population was conducted. The January battles showed that the FNOFM became a real military-political force.

Collapse of the Reformist Policy of the Military Democratic Christian Junta

Searching for ways of overcoming the crisis whose intensification continued to be a serious threat to the foundations of the existing system of government, the junta, still attempting to inflict a military defeat on the FNOFM, announced the implementation of a program of social and economic reforms. In March 1980, the implementation of a land reform was started which provided for buying privately owned land exceeding 500 hectares by the state. A decree on the nationalization of the banking system and trade in traditional commodities of Salvadoran export was published. Some other measures were also planned. However, along with this, the promises to put an end to the activities of ultraright bands which continue to remain the accomplices of the regime were completely forgotten.

The junta hoped to achieve several goals with the aid of the announced measures. Firstly, to improve the economic condition of the country. As is known, the political instability of the last two years aggravated even more the difficulties which suffered El Salvador's economy during the dictatorship of General Romero. In 1979, the rate of economic development declined sharply. The situation was particularly difficult in industry, where the crisis affected almost all leading sectors. The withdrawal of funds from the country increased considerably. According to available data, more than two billion dollars were transferred to foreign banks in recent years⁶. The volume of capital investments decreased, and other negative phenomena were observed in the economy.

5. For details about RDF see: LATINSKAYA AMERIKA [Latin America], 1981, No 8, pp 13-14.

6. COMERCIO EXTERIOR, Mexico, 1981, No 1, p 40.

The junta tried to abate social tension and the wave of public demonstrations, to win some strata of the population to their side, and thus to expand their social support. For example, the widely advertised land reform, in the opinion of its creators, was intended, through very limited half-measures, to improve somewhat the extremely difficult situation of rural residents⁷, in order to change them to the supporters of the regime and to leave insurgents without support in rural areas.

However, as time showed, the plans of the authorities to overcome the profound social and economic crisis by palliative projects and pseudoreforms did not lead, and could not lead, to the desired results. Moreover, in spite of the efforts of the junta, the intensification of the critical situation continued. As is indicated by the data of the United Nation Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), the level of production in the country fell by 10% (according to the data of the U.S.A. ambassador in El Salvador Dean Hinton, this index can reach 25% in 1981). The number of closing enterprises is increasing, and, respectively, the army of jobless workers. In the middle of 1980, even according to official data, unemployment extended to 300,000 people, i.e., almost to one fourth of the entire economically active population. The deficit of the external balance increased sharply, and the gold currency reserves of the country decreased⁸. Noting the aggravation of the economic crisis, the minister of finances of El Salvador was compelled to admit that the process of "the restoration progresses very slowly and its control is slipping away from the hands of the government..."⁹

The program of social and economic development proposed by the junta did not contribute to the relaxation of social tension and the improvement of the situation in the economy. At the same time, it brought about a sharply negative reaction on the part of the upper national bourgeoisie. The most vicious attacks were against the land reform which affected the "holy of holies": the interests of the most reactionary representatives of the ruling class, the traditional agrarian oligarchy. The government hastened to calm down the influential latifundian circles having close ties with the army leaders, actually stopping the implementation of the land reform. It was promised to compensate immediately those few persons who lost parts of their huge estates, as well as to grant guarantees to the private sector, which confirmed once again that the government gave up the implementation of any new reforms.

The failure of the economic program of the junta and its inability to put an end to the revolutionary movement brought about a growing dissatisfaction of the leading business organizations. Their leaders supported more and more resolutely the withdrawal of KhDP representatives from the junta and the government and the transfer of

7. The survey conducted in the seventies showed that the real annual income of the bulk of the peasant population in El Salvador was 33 dollars. This was approximately one-tenth of the official data on the average annual income per capita. 0.02% of the population own 40% of the cultivated land, and 8% of the population is responsible for more than one half of the national income. DESARROLLO RURAL EN LAS AMERICAS, San Jose, 1976, No 3, p 299; CUADERNOS DEL TERCER MUNDO, Mexico, 1981, No 42, p 8.

8. LA NACION, San Jose, 28 May 1980.

9. COMERCIO EXTERIOR, 1981, No 5, p 532.

power directly to the representatives of the upper bourgeoisie. For this purpose, a delegation of Salvadoran businessmen made a trip to the U.S.A. early in August 1981 trying to enlist support of the representatives of the Reagan Administration.

In recent years, the positions of the Christian Democratic Party have weakened substantially not only as a result of an increasingly open and sharply manifested hostility toward their representatives on the part of the upper national bourgeoisie who continue to suffer great losses from the armed struggle. The KhDP is getting less and less active support from small and medium business owners, who formerly provided a considerable social support to this party. They are disappointed by the fact that the promises to support their business activities were not fulfilled. The concern about the situation of small and medium business owners was expressed, for example, by the leaders of the Society of Salvadoran Merchants and Industrialists who criticized the military and Christian Democratic junta for the absence of any effective program of assistance to these categories of businesses¹⁰.

The KhDP lost its support and a considerable part of its rank and file members because its leaders compromised themselves by their participation in mass repressions which became an integral part of the policy of the ruling junta. This happened after ten representatives of the KhDP leadership left the party, declaring that "Duarte and his camarilla are involved in repressions and genocide". They formed a new party -- Social-Christian People's Movement -- to which the major part of Christian Democrats switched¹¹.

After the split, the KhDP became a party without any real political strength. This situation suits to some degree certain political circles both in the country and abroad. The retention of Duarte as the president of the ruling junta when he almost completely lost the possibility of having any substantial influence on the development of the situation can be used for covering up the support rendered by the U.S.A. to the antinational regime. Moreover, Duarte continues to be of interest for the United States in connection with the forthcoming elections to the Legislative Assembly in March 1982, since his figure can be used for institutionalizing the existing regime.

The idea of the elections under the conditions of the state of siege and wartime laws in the country is rejected by all progressive democratic forces of the country. As was stated by the chairman of the RDF, (Gil'yermo Ungo), these elections are "nothing else but the acknowledgment of the failure of the former formula of "repressions and reforms". At the present time, it is another formula: "repressions and elections". The head of the New Democratic Party of Canada, vice-president of the Socialist International Edward Broadbent who visited El Salvador, also mentioned that the idea of having the elections is unrealistic. He said, for example: "Who will be courageous enough to express his will freely during elections in a country where political murders are a usual occurrence?" This measure was also opposed by the chairman of the Central Electoral Council of the Country, (Khorkhe Bustamante), and the Federation of Salvadoran Attorneys whose leaders refused the official invitation of the junta to participate in the preparation of the electoral farce¹².

10. GRANMA, 17 Jul 1981.

11. EL PAIS, Madrid, 18 Nov 1980.

12. GRANMA, 18 Jun 1981; 23 May 1981.

The Catholic Church is also not indifferent to the processes occurring in the country. It continues to criticize the repressive policy of the junta. From 1977 to the middle of 1981, 25% of the Salvadoran clergymen were subjected to various repressions: fifteen people involved in religious activities were killed, many were subjected to tortures, arrests, and insults. Church leaders repeatedly declared the right of the people to revolt as an extreme means for protecting their interests and right to the satisfaction of the elementary human needs. Participants of the International Conference of Christians which took place in the end of November 1980 in Mexico City recognized the FNOFM and RDF as legitimate representatives of the Salvadoran people. It was mentioned in the discussion on the subject "Church Born in the Midst of the People and the Insurgent Struggle in Salvador" that the National Coordination Agency of the People's Church (KNIP) formed in El Salvador can become the nucleus of the "new church".

Approximately one third of the clergymen of El Salvador support the struggle of the people and the FNOFM-RDF program. Several days before the January general offensive of the patriots, 10 Catholic and two Protestant organizations of the country published a joint declaration in which they confirmed once again that the uprising is not only a "legitimate historical reality", but also answers the expectations and hopes of all believers¹³. Clergyman Rogelio Poncel who joined the insurgents, addressed all religious figures and bishops of the country in an open letter. He appealed to clergymen to intensify their efforts in the struggle for a true peace in order to "proclaim the justness of the people's demands and to tear off the mask from the junta and Jose Napoleon Duarte, who plays the same pitiful role as Somoza in Nicaragua".

Cruelty and violence, which are the main tools of the internal policy of the junta, cause a growing dissatisfaction also in the army, particularly among those of its representatives who do not belong to the corrupted military leadership and, by their social origin, are not connected with the oligarchy and the upper bourgeoisie. This process became clearly apparent in September 1980 in the collision between the right and "moderate" representatives of the army circle. At that time, by order of J. Gutierrez, Majano's supporters were removed from command posts of all levels. In the beginning of February 1981, "military youth" leaders signed an agreement with the FNOFM leaders whose main points provided for the formation of a new people's army and formation of the Revolutionary Democratic Government. The main means for achieving these goals in the struggle against their common enemy are, as was stated in the document, "popular uprising and military offensive of the revolutionary forces jointly with an uprising of patriotically minded military personnel"¹⁴.

The activities of the "military youths" in the armed forces of El Salvador, cases of desertion from the army which recently became more frequent, as well as the refusals of soldiers to shoot at unarmed population (for example, this happened in May of this year when soldiers from the San Miguel garrison refused to fire at peasants during the combing of rural regions), indicate that the army is no longer monolithic as it was several years ago and ceased to be a reliable support for the anti-national regime. It was pointed out in a letter by officers of the El Salvador army who switched to the side of the fighting people that the "military youths" are

13. AREITO, 1981, No 26, pp 32-33.

14. ALAI, Montreal, 1981, No 6, p 61.

fighting within the armed forces in order to achieve a true and just peace as soon as possible"¹⁵.

Struggle Continues

In the course of the January battles of 1981, the strength of the FNOFM increased considerably. They switched from uncoordinated isolated military operations to operations planned on the scale of the entire country. The strengthening and creation of new bases of the insurgents at the western, eastern, and other fronts (particularly in the northern regions of the Morasan Department, La-Union, San-Vicente) created favorable possibilities for conducting new battles and made it possible to activate combat operations relatively rapidly. Fighting was particularly stubborn in the Suchitoto-Guazapa zone (mountainous region whose area exceeds 500,000 km²) and Chinchiptepeque volcano in San-Vicente Department which are the main bases of the insurgents. All attempts of the government forces to surround these regions and approach the bases, in spite of the use of aviation, tanks and heavy artillery, end up with increasing losses among the members of the punitive forces and their retreat.

In spite of the fact that the U.S.A. is increasing military aid to the junta, FNOFM detachments are expanding the areas of their active operations, which already cover the territory of 13 out of 14 departments of the country. In some areas, for example, in the vast zones of Morasan Department, almost in the entire territory of Chalatenango and Cabanas departments, and in the south of Usulután and La-Union departments, full control of FNOFM detachments has been established. In spite of the most brutal terror (according to the data of the Salvadoran Commission on Human Rights, from 15 October 1979 to the middle of 1981, the number of victims of the government genocide policy exceeded 30,000 people¹⁶) and in spite of the creation of "strategic villages" in rural areas based on the experience of the American war in Vietnam, representatives of various strata of the population are joining more and more actively the struggle against the existing regime.

Noting the importance of armed actions, FNOFM, jointly with RDF, is giving much attention to the solving of political, diplomatic, and other problems which bring the victory of the people closer. "Resistance and strengthening of the regions in which we are strong, development through battles at the political, military and diplomatic fronts and steady movement ahead in the strategy of the prolonged people's war began eleven years ago" are the main tasks of the present stage of the struggle mentioned in the declaration of the FNOFM General Headquarters¹⁷.

In May 1981, the FNOFM General Headquarters announced the beginning of operations in a new area of combat activities: in the central zone of Agilares-Recaltepeque (in the territory of San-Salvador and Libertad departments). According to the combat summary No 109 of 7 May 1981, as a result of the military actions of FNOFM, the operations of the junta forces for the purpose of taking over the base of the insurgents in the Suchitoto-Guazapa region situated 35-50 km away from the capital failed

15. GRANMA, 11 May 1981.

16. GRANMA, 7 Jul 1981.

17. JUVENTUD REBELDE, La Habana, 12 May 1981.

completely¹⁸. The minister of defense himself was compelled to admit the growing losses of the junta in manpower and equipment and that the revolutionary forces are threatening the army in important regions of the country.

Being anxious about the successes of the patriots, the U.S.A. is taking measures for preventing the advent of true spokesmen of the people to power. The country was flooded with generous military help. The number of American military advisers and specialists in conducting "anti-insurgent operations" was increased. The CIA and its local agents, FBI and other special services became more active (the general director of the FBI openly admitted that his department is giving "technical aid" to the Salvadoran regime)¹⁹.

It is evident that the attack from the sea on the Port of La-Union of 17-29 June 1981 was provoked by these organizations in order to justify the increased military involvement of the U.S.A. in the affairs of El Salvador. The following was said in this connection in the declaration of the FNOFM General Headquarters: "the imperialists arranged similar provocative incidents in Korea, Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and other countries which were then used for beginning or expanding the involvement of their armed forces"²⁰.

The Reagan administration is working hard on developing possible variants of active and direct interference in the case of further successes of the patriotic forces. One of them is the expansion of the participation in the Salvadoran crisis of military subdivisions of neighboring countries, Guatemala and Honduras, as well as a wider involvement in the military aid to the junta of governments of other countries of Latin America, including Venezuela, Chile, and Uruguay. A concrete step has been made on the part of the U.S.A. along the path of forming an aggressive military block: a "mobile army group" was created from Guatemalan and Honduran military subdivisions which started wide-scale operations against Salvadoran refugees in boundary regions. The number of mercenaries fighting on the side of the junta increased noticeably. They include former South Vietnam soldiers, Somoza's national guards who had evaded their just punishment, Chilean military trained in repressions by General Pinochet, and others. In 1981, the U.S.A. expanded the volume of aid to the junta substantially. According to the data of the RDF chairman, J. Manuel Ungo, it exceeded 400 million dollars. Dean Hinton, who was appointed to the post of the U.S.A. ambassador in El Salvador, stated directly that he will "recommend to dispatch arms and military advisors in even greater numbers", because, in his opinion, the junta troops "have little possibilities for achieving a decisive victory"²¹.

The intention of the U.S.A. to build a military base in a strategically important area, Fonseca Gulf, on the island of Amapala is a real threat to the peoples of El Salvador and other countries of Central America. As a result of an agreement of Washington with the governments of El Salvador and Honduras, the U.S.A. has already started its construction, hoping to change the island into a powerful strong point of international reaction, into a springboard for an attack on Central American

18. GRANMA, 8 May 1981.

19. GRANMA, 30 Apr 1981.

20. GRANMA, 4 Jul 1981.

21. GRANMA, 13 Jul 1981.

peoples. This decision of the U.S.A. is another violation of the international law because, according to an agreement, the island of Amapala is in the jurisdiction of three countries: Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua.

When we analyze the Reagan administration policy in relation to the events developing in El Salvador, it becomes evident that it counts chiefly on a military solution of the crisis. Any initiatives of leading government and political figures of the countries of Western Europe, as well as the proposals of the leaders of the Socialist International, directed toward searching ways for peaceful political settlement of the problems are received with understanding and willingness to support them by the FNOFM and RDF and encounter an insurmountable resistance of Washington and the junta.

This position of the present American administration which brings new victims and sufferings for the Salvadoran people every day is, at the same time, an indirect confirmation of the fact that it is not counting on success of its henchmen in the course of a political settlement of the problem. At the same time, this confirms the weakness of the positions of the junta which is staying in power only due to the military aid of the U.S.A. Washington wants first to achieve the defeat of the armed forces of the Salvadoran people, and then to support the election farce planned for March 1982. This is the real state of affairs with respect to the actions and declarations of the leaders of the Reagan administration.

It is clear that this "settlement" procedure cannot suit the progressive forces of El Salvador which, headed by the FNOFM, are struggling for a true democratic transformation of the Salvadoran society. It is this main goal of the struggle of the patriots that was formulated in the draft of the program of the Revolutionary Democratic Government published in August 1981. It is stated in the draft that: "The Revolutionary-Democratic Government will unite with all revolutionary, democratic, people's forces which contribute to the overthrow of the misanthropic dictatorship and are fighting against the intervention of imperialism and its puppets in our country."

The draft consists of seven points and guarantees national independence to the Salvadoran people and protection of their rights to self-determination, and implementation of deep political and socioeconomic reforms which will "ensure a just distribution of the wealth" and "effective exercising of the democratic rights of broad masses of the population." It is envisaged to form a revolutionary people's army with the participation of patriotic and democratic elements of the armed forces of the country for ensuring the "security of political and socioeconomic reforms which will be started by the revolution."

It is stressed that the Revolutionary-Democratic Government "will support honest businessmen who are against genocide and imperialistic intervention, will cooperate in the realization of the government program and will facilitate the functioning and the development of the national economy." The main directions of the foreign policy of the Revolutionary-Democratic Government are announced to be peaceful policy and participation in the nonalignment movement.

Shortly after the publication of the draft of the program, the radio station of the FNOFM "Venseremos" announced the creation on its control territory of a Revolutionary-Democratic government based in the city of Perquin (Morazan Department). Its

formation was accompanied by intensification of offensive actions of the FNOFM at all fronts. A detachment of insurgents captured a national guard camp in a populated center near the Guazapa volcano. The patriots attacked military barracks in the city of San-Vicente, the main base of the junta troupes operating in the area of Chinchontepeque volcano. In the capital, an FNOFM detachment penetrated the territory of the central barracks of the national police and destroyed several vehicles and armored carriers. Battles spread in the departments of Cuscatlan, Morasan, Chalatenango and others. Armed operations are actively supported by residents of rural areas and cities. In San Salvador, responding to the call of FNOFM, workers are striking, electric power is supplied with increasing interruptions, and communication among individual cities and regions of the country is unstable. The capital is practically paralyzed. The struggle of the patriots, in which armed actions are combined more and more actively with acts of sabotage, strikes, and other forms, is becoming widespread.

The junta is losing its ability to control effectively the situation in the country. It is becoming more and more obvious that its possibilities of improving the situation by some political maneuvers are very problematic. This is clearly confirmed by the fact that the idea of the elections was not supported widely by the population. In this situation, the junta is trying to rely chiefly on military force and the increasing outside support, understanding that the U.S.A. will do everything possible not to allow the "Nicaraguan variant" to be repeated in El Salvador. Moreover, as was shown by the results of the recent visit of J. Gattierrez to Uruguay and Chile, the junta is depending also on support from the governments of these countries. Recently, the president of Venezuela, Luis Herrera Campins, stated also that his government will give help to the junta "to the limit of its possibilities".²²

The reliance on force, which meets with a condign repulse from FNOFM detachments, does not find support among many statesmen and politicians in the countries of Western Europe and leaders of the Socialist International. For example, this was demonstrated in the course of recent visits to Mexico and a number of Central American countries by vice-chairman of the Socialist International, E. Brodmont, minister of foreign relations of France, Claude Cheysson, and a number of other political figures.

The joint French-Mexican declaration brought about a wide response in the entire world. The governments of these countries declared in it their recognition of the FNOFM-RDF union as a "representative political force" which has a legal right to participate in political settlement of the Salvadoran crisis. Having mentioned the urgent necessity of the implementation of deep political and socioeconomic reforms, the ministers of foreign affairs of Mexico and France expressed their opinion against any interference in the affairs of El Salvador and for the right of the people to pass a decision on their fate. The national liberation government of the Republic of Nicaragua also recognized FNOFM and RDF. Shortly after that, they were recognized by Norway, Holland, and other countries.

In May 1981, more than 7000 well-known political, trade-union, religious, and public figures of the German Federal Republic signed a document which states: "We are in favor of the right of the people of El Salvador to self-determination and support

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the democratic forces of this country which are united and act within the framework of the Revolutionary Democratic front and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front..." A powerful solidarity movement developed in the countries of the socialist concord, in Mexico and other Latin American countries.

Mass protest demonstrations against the Reagan administration policy in El Salvador are taking place in the United States. Workers, students, public and religious figures of the U.S.A. united into the People's Coalition against war held meetings in Washington, San Francisco, Denver, and other cities, demanding to stop aid to the antinational regime of El Salvador. Senator E. Kennedy spoke against the policy of the present administration which rejects international mediation for the regulation of the El Salvador crisis. The North American conference of Catholic bishops published a message which was distributed later by the radio station "Venseremos" which, among other things, said the following: "North American priests and pastors of many Protestant churches shared the opinions with the church of El Salvador in order to prevent the help and interference of the U.S.A. We want to join them in order to express publicly our support to the El Salvador people." Many progressive circles of the American society spoke in support of the El Salvador people in a number of cities of the country during the recent visit of Duarte to the U.S.A.

The 68th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union held in Havana in September 1981 passed a resolution which, along with the support of the French-Mexican declaration, contained an appeal to peaceful nations to take measures for ending the genocide policy conducted by the junta and to use all possibilities for a political settlement of the El Salvador problem with the participation of true representatives of the people of this country.

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U.S., PRC'S POLICIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA ATTACKED

Moscow NORODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, 1981 pp 98-105

[Article by Tat'yana Ivanovna Sulitskaya, candidate of historical sciences, research assistant at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Oriental Studies and specialist in the international relations of countries of the Asian continent: "ASEAN and International Relations in Southeast Asia"]

[Text] ASEAN, which incorporates Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines and Singapore, was set up in 1967. The Bangkok Declaration, which determined the international-law status of ASEAN, proclaimed as the association's goals an acceleration of economic and cultural development, social progress and support for peace and stability in the region. A number of statements of the association's leading bodies have persistently emphasized this organization's nonmilitary character. The 1971 Kuala Lumpur Declaration put forward the idea of the creation of a "zone of peace, freedom and neutrality" in the region with great-power--the United States, the USSR and the PRC--guarantees; realization of this idea was declared ASEAN's main long-term goal.*

The concept of the "neutralization" of Southeast Asia and the idea of the creation of a "zone of peace" here undoubtedly contained an important positive principle and were received with approval by the Soviet Union. Back in 1972, during the visit to Moscow of then Malaysian Prime Minister Abdul Razak, the Soviet Government expressed support for it. This standpoint has been confirmed repeatedly since. Thus in September 1979, during the visit to the USSR of Malaysian Prime Minister Hussein Onn, the Soviet side made the following statement: Proceeding from our principled position of support for initiatives aimed at a strengthening of peace and security on the basis of the efforts of all countries of the continent, we have a positive view of Malaysia's initiative and of the conversion of Southeast Asia into a zone of peace. Realization of this proposal would create additional prerequisites for the extension of the detente process to the entire Asian continent.**

The ASEAN countries took a number of positive steps in foreign policy in the light of the "zone of peace, freedom and neutrality" concept. They abandoned the one-sided orientation toward the imperialist countries and set course toward an expansion of political and economic relations with the developing world and the

*"Facts on ASEAN," Kuala Lumpur, 1977, pp 21-25.

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socialist community states. The ASEAN countries embarked on the winding up of foreign military bases on their territory and quit military-aggressive imperialist blocs. Having taken office in October 1973, the liberal-democratic government of Thailand decided to put an end to the "special military relationship" with the United States, have the American armed forces withdrawn from the country and dismantle all seven American military bases on its territory. In implementation of this decision the American bases in Sattahip, Utapao, Korat, Udon, Ubon and Takhli were closed and American military personnel, with the exception of 270 military advisers, were withdrawn from Thailand. In 1972 the Philippines Government decided to revise the status of the American Clark Field and Subic Bay bases, declaring that the 1947 American-Philippines bases agreement infringed the Philippines' national sovereignty. The corresponding negotiations between the Philippines and the United States began in 1976. Back at the start of the 1970's all British bases in Malaysia and Singapore had come under the jurisdiction of the local governments; on their territory remained merely small Commonwealth army subunits of purely symbolic significance. In 1973 Malaysia announced its withdrawal from the ASPAC bloc. An accord was reached in July 1975 during Thai Prime Minister K. Pramoj's meeting with Philippines' President F. Marcos on the need for the dissolution of SEATO,* which ingloriously ceased to exist in 1977.

In 1976-1977 the ASEAN states rejected, despite strong pressure on the part of imperialist circles of the United States and Beijing, the idea of the creation of a military alliance on the basis of ASEAN. The organization's members again emphasized their endeavor to shift the center of gravity of ASEAN's activity to the sphere of economics, commerce and scientific-cultural relations.

Steps were taken to settle intraregional contradictions and conflicts. The territorial-border dispute between Malaysia and the Philippines in connection with the state of Sabah, which had for many years cast a shadow over relations between these states, was settled, in the main. Contradictions in connection with the separatist Muslim movement in the South Philippines--between the Philippines on the one hand and Malaysia and Indonesia on the other--were smoothed over. Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur adopted a conciliatory position at the Islamic international conference which examined the question of this movement and rendered Manila diplomatic support, declaring that the Philippines' policy in respect of the Muslim minority was its own affair.** Malaysia and Thailand took steps to remove the disagreements in connection with the Muslim separatist movement in southern Thailand. Relations which had been complicated in connection with the contradictions on ethnic-national soil between Indonesia and Malaysia on the one hand and Singapore on the other improved, to which an exchange of visits at the highest level contributed.

An important positive component of the ASEAN countries' foreign policy was their manifestation of an endeavor to develop relations with the Indochina states based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually profitable cooperation. The meeting of ASEAN foreign ministers in May 1975 adopted a communique which spoke of an interest in the development of relations with the countries of Indochina.

*For more detail see Van der Kroef, "The Lives of SEATO," Singapore Institute of South-East Asian Studies. Occasional Paper," No 45, December 1976.

**ORBIS vol 22, No 2, 1978, p 420.

The communique emphasized that "the Southeast Asian peoples had never before in their history had such a favorable opportunity for the building of a new world free of foreign domination and influence."* All ASEAN members established diplomatic relations with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (Thailand being the last to sign the appropriate agreement, in 1978); contacts on a bilateral basis in the trade-economic sphere began to develop, and a number of cooperation agreements was signed.

Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong's September-October 1978 tour of the association's members was important for the strengthening of relations between Vietnam and the ASEAN countries. The talks were successful, as a whole, and initiated a new stage in the development of international relations in Southeast Asia. The participants in the talks recognized the need for the creation in the region of a "zone of peace, independence, freedom and neutrality, stability and prosperity". Pham Van Dong emphasized in the course of the meetings the Vietnamese Government's intention to build relations of friendship and cooperation with the ASEAN states on a stable and long-term basis.

The ASEAN members have supported a policy of detente and disarmament, condemned colonialism, racism and apartheid and participated in the nonaligned movement. In the sphere of international economic relations they have striven for the establishment of equal relations with the industrially developed capitalist countries within the framework of a new internationaleconomic order.

The above-mentioned positive features have been characteristic of the foreign policy of all members of the association to this extent or the other, despite the differences and dissimilarities of their positions on individual international problems conditioned by the singularities of the internal political development of each country and their nationalistic aspirations. This has objectively contributed to an improvement in the international political climate in Southeast Asia.

At the same time, by virtue of the social-class nature of the ASEAN members' ruling circles and also the continued and, in certain points, increased influence of reactionary pro-imperialist circles in them, their foreign policy has been characterized by inconsistency, as a result of which certain discrepancies arise between ASEAN principles and the association members' practical actions in this situation or the other. The imperialist states are endeavoring to use this inconsistency in their own selfish interests.

In recent years it may be stated that under the influence of conservative forces the ASEAN countries have been departing increasingly from the neutralist foreign policy principles which it proclaimed earlier.

The new Philippines-American bases agreement was signed on 7 January 1979. The United States agreed to recognize Manila's formal sovereignty over them, reduce their territory somewhat, appoint Philippine commanders (purely nominal) and review the base agreements every 5 years. At the same time the American military

*"Facts on ASEAN," p 92.

personnel retained the right of extraterritoriality--to which the Philippines side had particularly objected at the initial stage of the talks. Nor did the Philippines succeed in having the United States pay compensation for the use of the bases of the order of \$1 billion. Instead, the Americans merely promised to put to Congress the question of military credits for the Philippines totaling \$500 million in the next 5 years. Thus having created an outward appearance of the Philippines' establishment of sovereignty over the bases, the 1979 agreement essentially left the status of the American bases and U.S. rights in respect of them unchanged.

A trend toward a strengthening of the military-political alliance with Washington was also observed in Thai foreign policy in the latter half of the 1970's. The T. Kraivichen Government, which came to power as a result of a reactionary military coup in October 1976, adopted a decision to return to the United States the military base of Takhli. The visits of American military delegations to Thailand again became frequent, American-Thai joint maneuvers were resumed and the sides embarked on the development of new plans for the construction of joint military enterprises.

The inconsistency of the ASEAN countries' policy was manifested particularly evidently in their position in connection with the PRC's aggression against Vietnam. At the initial stage of the conflict, in the summer of 1978, when the PRC leadership had stepped up subversive activity against Vietnam, inspiring the border conflict between Pol Pot's Kampuchea and Vietnam and embarking on a policy of provocation in respect of Vietnamese citizens of Chinese nationality (the appeal to them to return to the "homeland" accompanied by threats of severe punishment of those who would not submit to Beijing's "order"), the governments of the ASEAN countries condemned these acts by the Beijing hegemonists. Particularly serious concern was caused in these countries by the thousands-strong streams of Chinese refugees from Vietnam, the vast majority of whom, fleeing Beijing's "retribution," headed for Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Indonesia. At that time the governments of the ASEAN countries fairly put the entire responsibility for the problem of the Vietnamese refugees on China. Fears were expressed at the 11th ASEAN Foreign Ministers Session in June 1978 that China might extend its policy in respect of the ethnic Chinese to the ASEAN zone also.

When certain events occurred in Kampuchea. Supported by friendly Vietnam, the offensive of the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation led to the fall of the reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sary puppet regime and the establishment in Kampuchea of people's power, which immediately displayed its interest in the country's peaceful development and concentrated its efforts on this--this might, it would have seemed, have been a prerequisite for the further stabilization of the international situation in the region. But the armed aggression against socialist Vietnam unleashed by Beijing on 17 February 1979 brought about a new increase in tension in Southeast Asia.

Although under these conditions the governments of the ASEAN countries issued a joint statement on their intention to maintain strict neutrality,* their practical actions throughout 1979-1980 showed that, in spite of the declarations, they were

*FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW vol 103, No 10, 1979, p 17.

retreating from this position. In fact the ASEAN countries became participants in the anti-Vietnam campaign unleashed by the Chinese expansionists and the imperialist states headed by the United States, supporting a condemnation of the "armed interference in Kampuchea".* The official documents of the meetings of ASEAN foreign ministers convened to study the "Kampuchean problem" did not even mention the Chinese aggression against the sovereign state of Vietnam.

At various international fora--in the Security Council and the 34th and 35th UN general assemblies, at the nonaligned conference in Havana and elsewhere--the association's members presented their version of a "political solution" of the so-called Kampuchean problem. This solution was to have consisted of the establishment of a cease-fire line between the liberation forces and the Red Khmers and the creation of a demilitarized zone in the Thai-Kampuchean border region, the immediate withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from the country, UN-supervised elections and the creation of a coalition government of a "free and neutral" Kampuchea. Certain ASEAN leaders openly declared that they would like to see the Kampuchean state headed by its former ruler, Prince Sihanouk, who has found political asylum in Beijing. These leaders have clearly been unwilling to understand that the creation of a government in Kampuchea headed by Sihanouk would under present conditions signify the return of the country to the power of Beijing and that the Heng Samrin Government is the sole popular government, whose authority in the country and abroad is strengthening increasingly. The irreversibility of the changes which have taken place in Kampuchea was convincingly confirmed in the spring of 1981 by the results of elections on the basis of a new democratic constitution, which were the first in the country since the collapse of the bloody Pol Pot regime. The elections showed that the Heng Samrin Government enjoys nationwide support. Under these conditions formulation of the question of the creation of some coalition government with the participation of representatives of Pol Pot, who has been driven out of the country, is invalid.

The association's participants are far from identical in their attitude toward the problem of relations with Vietnam. The disagreements among them were particularly evident in 1980. Whereas Singapore and Thailand occupied a tough position in respect of Vietnam, Malaysia and Indonesia supported a dialogue with the Vietnamese leadership. The annual meeting of Malaysian and Indonesian leaders was held on 27 March 1980 in Kuantan, during which they formulated principles of a regularization of relations with Vietnam.**

The "Kuantan formula" was sustained in the spirit of the 1971 Kuala Lumpur Declaration and was essentially a development under present conditions of the idea of the creation of a "zone of peace, freedom and neutrality". The Hong Kong weekly FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW pointed out that Hussein Onn and Suharto were "publicly turning their back on the campaign to bleed Vietnam white"***--a campaign conducted

*See, for example, Special Meeting of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers in Bangkok (January 12-13). Joint Statement, FOREIGN AFFAIRS MALAYSIA vol 12, No, 1979.

**FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW vol 108, No 15, 1980, p 12.

***Ibid.

by Beijing with the support of the imperialist powers. During Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua's visit to Malaysia in March 1980 the Kuala Lumpur authorities also made it clearly understood to Beijing's emissary that their country had not the least interest in a deterioration in relations with Vietnam.*

The differences in the ASEAN countries' approach to Chinese-Vietnamese relations are determined by a number of circumstances. Great significance is attached to the seriousness of the problem of national (predominantly Chinese) minorities in this country or the other: their numbers, degree of assimilation with the local population, influence on political and economic life, activeness of pro-Beijing groupings and so forth.

In Malaysia, for example, the degree of assimilation of the Chinese population is very low; here the ASEAN states' most populous Chinese community (34 percent of the country's population), a pro-Beijing grouping, is engaged in active antigovernment activity. At the start of the 1970's Malaysia initiated the establishment of diplomatic relations with the PRC, hoping thereby to settle certain internal problems connected with the local Chinese community and the terrorist activity of the Maoist group. But these hopes were not justified. The problem of the citizenship of ethnic Chinese living in Malaysia has not been resolved; Beijing has not renounced support for the insurgent movements in the country, in other words, interference in this state's internal affairs. The economic might of the Chinese bourgeoisie in Malaysia is adding to the complex of reasons explaining why the Malaysian Government considers China a most dangerous enemy and sees it as the main potential source of an external threat to its stability.

Indonesia is the sole country among the association's participants to have experienced the tragic consequences of a political and ideological alliance with Maoist China. Fears that a normalization of relations with the PRC would open to Beijing new opportunities to use the Chinese community in Indonesia for a stimulation of subversive activity in the country are forcing the Indonesian Government to delay an exchange of diplomatic representations. Jakarta is in no hurry to unfreeze diplomatic relations with the PRC for the added reason that it has no wish to permit a strengthening of the Chinese bourgeoisie's positions in the event of the establishment of official contacts with China. And although a process of the fusion of the interests of the political elite and Chinese big capital has been discerned in Indonesia recently, Jakarta's ruling circles are endeavoring to keep the economic influence of the Chinese haute bourgeoisie within certain limits.

In Thailand the problem of ethnic Chinese is not so acute. Assimilation of the Chinese population with the local population here has reached quite a high level, and half-breed Chinese can even be found in the ruling elite, not to mention the very close relations which exist between the Thai bureaucratic upper strata and the Chinese bourgeoisie. An underground Maoist grouping in the country had been extremely active, but in 1979 its leaders announced a cessation of the struggle and support for the policy of the Thai Government. There is no doubt that this

*FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW vol 107, No 13, 1980, p 15.

not was directed by Beijing; this also explained the halt to the broadcasts of the underground "Voice of the Thai People" radio station, which broadcast from the territory of the Chinese province of Yunnan; all this was aimed at enlisting Thailand in the anti-Vietnam campaign.

At the same time a considerable number of persons of Vietnamese extraction lives in the northeast regions of Thailand, and the government sees this as a potential danger. It considers its country a "border" state allegedly confronted with both a Chinese and "Vietnamese threat" and declares that it will pursue an equidistant policy in relations with the PRC and Vietnam as far as possible. The facts testify, however, that since 1979 Bangkok has permitted a manifest tilt in its policy toward support for Beijing.

Singapore has not established official diplomatic relations with China, declaring that it will be the last ASEAN country to do so. But its political and economic relations with the PRC have been developing more intensively since Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yew's May 1976 visit to Beijing than in the countries of the association which have officially normalized relations with the PRC. Singapore's policy has at the same time a strikingly expressed anti-Vietnam coloration. This position of Singapore's is probably conditioned not only by this state's extraordinary interest in trade with the PRC, which is a most important source of revenue for it, but also by the influence of Chinese nationalism: although Singapore's leaders declare their aspiration to create a "Singapore nation" independent of "continental China," it has to be considered, nonetheless, that 76 percent of its population are ethnic Chinese.

Chinese-Vietnamese relations affect the Philippines' national security interests to a lesser extent than the other ASEAN members. Moreover, the country has the smallest Chinese community (1 percent of the population), a large part of which is half-breed. The pro-Beijing forces, which are split into tiny groupings, are not displaying great activeness and are not regarded by the Philippines Government as a significant threat to the country's internal stability. Finally, the Philippines is displaying great interest in the purchase of Chinese oil. By virtue of these circumstances, the anti-China thrust in Manila's policy is not expressed as strongly as the anti-Vietnam thrust.

Despite the obvious differences in the approach to the problems connected with relations between the PRC and socialist Vietnam, the association's members are trying not to bring their disagreements to the surface, continuing at the official level to adhere to a single line in joint documents. There are various reasons for such a policy.

Remaining in socioeconomic and ideological respects within the orbit of capitalism, the ASEAN participants cannot help but oppose the trends toward a strengthening of the influence of the socioeconomic system and ideology which prevails in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The persistent ideological indoctrination to which the ASEAN states have been subjected and the impact of imperialist propaganda, which is built on the kindling of contradictions and hostility between countries of the region, have also undoubtedly had an effect. The United States and China are intimidating the association's

participants with the "Vietnamese threat," employing the far-fetched idea of Vietnam's allegedly planned creation under its supremacy of an "Indochina federation," including Thailand.

During the visits of the Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda and the Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yew to China in 1980 and the trip of Zhao Ziyang, premier of the PRC State Council, to Bangkok at the start of 1981 the Chinese side exerted every effort to convince the ASEAN countries of the need for the creation of a "united anti-Vietnam front of struggle".

The propaganda of the United States, whence constantly emanate provocative statements about the readiness to render Thailand assistance in the event of an attack on it by Vietnam,* is sustained in the same anti-Vietnam key. The decision to speed up American military assistance to the ASEAN members should also be viewed in the light of this provocative policy of Washington's. The U.S. Administration is again raising directly and via its partners in the ANZUS bloc--Australia and New Zealand--the question of the creation of a new military bloc with the participation of ASEAN countries. Washington's ally, Japan, has come out with the idea of the creation of a kind of "Pacific community" with the enlistment of the association's members therein.

Graphic testimony to the pressure which the United States and China are putting on the ASEAN countries was the enlistment of the latter in the July 1981 American-Chinese "Conference on Kampuchea". The small number of participants, the unrepresentative composition and the discussion of the nonexistent "Kampuchea problem" turned this so-called conference into a political farce. The participation in this farce of delegations of the ASEAN five has not brought the region of Southeast Asia any closer to achievement of the proclaimed goal--the creation of a "zone of peace". Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos expressed a protest in connection with the convening of the New York "forum," assessing it as flagrant interference in the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign state.

Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that the anti-Vietnam sentiments in the majority of ASEAN countries do not have, as a whole, as distinct from the anti-China sentiments, profound socioeconomic and traditional-historical roots. Vietnam has never in the past interfered in their internal affairs; it was itself, like them, a target of encroachment on the part of the Han emperors, who regarded, as is known, all countries south of China's borders as their vassals--this "geopolitical tradition" has been inherited by the current Beijing hegemonists. The Vietnamese leadership has declared repeatedly that it does not regard the activity of the leftist groupings in the ASEAN countries nurtured by Maoist "ideas" and oriented toward the PRC as a national liberation movement. It is also significant that the most active pro-Beijing groupings in Malaysia and Thailand consist predominantly of ethnic Chinese.

*See, for example, *Chronologies of Major Developments in Selected Areas of Foreign Affairs* (January-August 1979). Foreign Affairs Committee Print (s.l., s.d.), p 191.

there are no serious contradictions and unsolved problems between the ASEAN countries and Vietnam in the long term. In fact they have all been the target of the expansion of the imperialist powers and Beijing. For this reason the position currently held by the governments of the ASEAN countries with respect to Vietnam and Kampuchea is contrary to the national interests of the peoples and the principles of nonalignment and neutrality and is complicating the international situation in the region. Only on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and noninterference in internal affairs and the unification of efforts for the solution of existing problems will the Southeast Asian peoples be able to successfully tackle the vitally important tasks of economic building and discover genuine peace.

The foreign ministers of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have put forward a positive initiative concerning the normalization of relations between the Indochina states and the ASEAN countries. At a meeting in Ho Chi Minh City at the start of 1981 they put forward a proposal for a regional conference of the two groups of states for the purpose of ensuring peace, stability, friendship and cooperation in Southeast Asia and the signing of a corresponding international treaty. The ministers also stressed their countries' readiness to sign bilateral treaties on peaceful coexistence with the PRC. This position was again set forth in the declaration of the June conference of foreign ministers of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos in Phnom Penh.

On the instructions of the Soviet leadership the USSR ambassadors to Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines appealed to the governments of the ASEAN countries on 22 February 1981 "to display political realism and duly appreciate the Indochina states' constructive proposals". The document points out that the Soviet Union welcomes the idea of the creation of a zone of peace in Southeast Asia and expresses the USSR's readiness (if such readiness is also displayed by the other permanent members of the UN Security Council--the United States, Britain, France and the PRC) to participate in an international conference which could be convened following the Southeast Asian countries' conclusion of a treaty on peace and stability in the region aimed at providing guarantees for such a treaty. The appeal expresses the confidence that the realization of these proposals will make an appreciable contribution to the establishment of peace and stability in Asia and beyond.*

*PRAVDA 22 February 1981.

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U.S. POST-VIETNAM POLICY IN ASIA EXAMINED

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[Article by G. Trofimenko, doctor of historical sciences: "Washington's Asian Policy"]

[Text] After the fiasco of the United States' aggression in Vietnam and the collapse of the system of pro-American military alliances in the period of the "cold war"--SEATO and the Central Treaty Organization, Washington decided to draw a veil over its military presence in the Asia-Pacific Ocean region and to create dependent regimes serving as conductors of its influence in it. This policy was called the "Nixon doctrine." But then a certain estrangement occurred under the influence of the "lesson of Vietnam" between the United States and even its loyal partners such as Australia, Japan, the Philippines and Pakistan, which obliged Washington to have doubts about the soundness of orientation toward conducting its policy with foreign hands. The collapse of the Shah's regime in Iran--a model one, so to say, from the point of view of the "Nixon doctrine"--inflicted a very heavy blow on it. All this together with the revolutions in Laos and Afghanistan and the collapse of the bloody regime of Pol Pot in Kampuchea brought American strategists to the opinion of the need of activating U.S. foreign policy to an Asian direction, including in its military aspects.

This new turn of U.S. policy in Asia was hastened by further bending in the direction of Washington by Beijing's leadership, which came to power after Mao Zedong's death.

The revision of U.S. strategy in Asia that began under Carter's administration in a more aggressive direction (revoking of the decision to withdraw a part of the American troops from South Korea, the demand for Tokyo to increase its contribution to joint military activity and the like) is actually continuing under Reagan's administration.

Analyzing U.S. foreign policy in the period of the last two administrations as well as declarations of American leaders, it is possible to assert that the chief new element in Washington's Asian strategy is a decisive break with the policy of restraint of China, maintained in the '50s and '60s and a transition to outright forming of a bloc with it (and Japan) on an anti-Soviet basis.

Despite the varying explanations and denials by Tokyo, the military alliance character of American-Japanese relations does not create a doubt in anyone. Now the

same thing can evidently be said about the character of American-Chinese relations. These relations, no matter what they might be called officially, display all the signs of a burgeoning military union: regular reciprocal consultation on the highest political and military level; correlation of positions on an extremely broad range of foreign-policy problems relating to the Asian region, as well as other world problems; exchange of intelligence information and joint intelligence activity including with the help of American technical means on Chinese territory; deliveries to China of American equipment of dual use and transition to deliveries of lethal military equipment to it; training in the United States of Chinese specialists, including spheres of learning directly related to military activity; access of China to the newest American nonmilitary technology. American and Chinese strategic interests are characterized by both sides no longer as parallel but as coincident: China has been officially transferred by the American leadership into the category of friendly powers--with all the juridical and other consequences stemming therefrom.

All this makes it possible to speak of a forming American-Chinese military alliance (although certain contradictions exist between the two countries, particularly in relation to the question of Taiwan); not for nothing, for example, does the Japanese press call these relations the "Beijing-Washington axis."

Thus, if American-Japanese and American-Chinese relations be taken together, then we have in essence the creation under the aegis of the United States of a bloc of leading powers of Asia for the purpose of opposition to the Soviet Union. Moreover, since the changes now taking place in American-Chinese relations are of a fundamental character and because of the fact that the American-Chinese-Japanese alliance is dominated by military considerations, it is actually possible to speak of the formation of a new center of military danger in the Far East.

This is also reflected in the American strategic doctrine. Its final formulation seemingly becomes clear only at the outset of 1982, but Weinberger, the U.S. secretary of defense, now states the need for Washington to be prepared to wage two or even two and a half wars, including a war in Asia. But in distinction to the period of the '60s, when U.S. strategy also considered such a possibility, it is assumed that a war waged on the Asian continent would not be against China or its allies but together with China or, at the very least, with the latter's neutrality.

For the long term, American strategy provides a sort of division of labor between the three chief members of the anti-Soviet coalition. It is proposed for China "to exert pressure on its northern neighbor" with its potential of land forces, Japan -- to concentrate on the development of the means of antisubmarine defense and air defense and to assume the patrolling of the sea and air space of the western part of the Pacific Ocean north of the island of Guam and the Philippines; the United States on its part promises to provide its nuclear resources and offensive naval forces drawn close to the shore of the potential enemy. At the same time, the most mobile component of the U.S. armed forces--the so-called "rapid deployment forces"--is intended for use not only in the Near East but also in Asia. Additional strong points are being created for them in the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

Other elements of the new American strategy in Asia are:

--a stronger military role for South Korea, in connection with which active rearmament with the newest American equipment of South-Korean troops is proceeding and they are also being expanded;

--stronger military presence of itself in Asia. In instructing American correspondents in the course of a trip by the U.S. Secretary of State, a "highly placed official" (a term usually meaning the secretary of state himself) stated that the "new U.S. approach to the region... will be supported by more military muscle" than under President Carter and a "larger budget and plans for increasing U.S. naval forces in the region." This task will have to be solved in the future through an increase in the size of the U.S. 3rd and 7th Fleets and their qualitative reequipping; major importance is being attached in this plan to the staging in the Pacific Ocean of the new Trident missile-bearing submarines and the forthcoming U.S. surface naval vessels with strategic nuclear winged missiles. So far only emergency palliative measures are being carried out--recommissioning of all battleships for the purpose of converting them into winged-missile carriers and a number of other actions for the purpose of compensating the shifting of certain U.S. naval vessels from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean. At the same time, U.S. military bases are being reequipped and expanded in Japan, the Philippines and South Korea and new ones are being acquired in Micronesia, Australia, not to speak of new strong points in the Near East and in the Indian Ocean.

--the desire of the United States to improve the military organization and strengthen the military role of the ASEAN countries--to stir up their military activity and to impart to this group offensive functions. For this end, Reagan's administration increased the aid to ASEAN countries and significantly augmented its military share. At the same time, the countries named above are undeviatingly raising the level of their military appropriations: from 1971 through 1980 they, according to data of the Stockholm Institute for Research on Problems of Peace (SIRPP), increased from 2.5 to 4.7 billion American dollars (in constant 1978 prices), that is, they almost doubled.

--gradual drawing in of Australia into the American-Chinese-Japanese alliance, not to speak of the already activated military activity of Canberra in the Indian Ocean;

--maintenance of centers of tension, particularly through deliveries of weapons to antigovernmental forces (Kampuchea, Afghanistan) and on a broader scale--foreign political activity on the principle of "divide and conquer." We have reference to Washington's desire to maintain tension in relations between Pakistan and India, India and China, the ASEAN states and countries of Indochina and so forth for the purpose of having a freer hand in the region.

The United States supports the idea of creation of a "Pacific Ocean community" for the purpose of retaining under its control markets and to some extent sources of raw materials with a certain sharing of responsibility with Japan.

Beside purely anti-Soviet aims, the strategy of the United States in the region also pursues other aims. The chief of them is to maintain control over (naturally to the degree possible in regard to large independent countries) the policies of China and Japan and in any case to make sure that anti-American tendencies do not predominate in it.

The United States would like to "load" both Beijing and Tokyo with big military programs and expenditures and thus weaken their capability as competitors in the Asia-Pacific Ocean region. Ideally, Washington would like to play the role of a balance in various multilateral political, economic and military associations in Asia.

The United States would like to control in certain measure the energy supply of Japan and a number of other "friendly" countries for the purpose of possessing an additional strong level of pressure on their policies.

Of course, all that has been said above constitutes only the strategic intentions of the United States. The degree of their realization will largely depend on to what degree Washington succeeds in influencing the evolution of the situation in Asia in favor of its interests and to what degree it is able to overcome the barriers existing on this path. And there are quite a few of them.

First of all, no matter what arguments on rebuffing the Soviet threat might be used to disguise the intentions of the trilateral alliance created by the United States in Asia, all the other countries of this region cannot fail to understand with respect not only this that they are dealing here with a dangerous alliance of three very large powers. They see the main threat being directed to them not by some mythical "Soviet threat" but through economic domination by the United States, through the economic expansionism of Japan and Chinese hegemonism. For these reasons the indicated policy of the United States cannot but help evoke--and as shown by numerous facts, already evokes--a natural reaction on the part of a whole series of states of the region. Even the government of Pakistan, although it is gradually being drawn into a military alliance with the United States, is doing this with much vacillation and a great lack of confidence in the correctness of the chosen course, taking into consideration the general character of American policy in Asia and the positions of many of the Asian states.

The United States, no matter how it ingratiate itself with respect to China and Japan, is in no position to manipulate the policy of these countries to the degree that Washington would like. Both China and Japan, despite their present pro-American leaning, cannot help but take into account the USSR factor--not merely because of their understanding of the power of the USSR and its role in the region, but also because of a manifest lack of desire to admit that Washington was sharply limiting for them the degree of foreign-policy freedom. This sharply restricts the possibilities of American diplomacy within the indicated triangle. Moreover, even a superficial familiarity with the commentaries of the Japanese press would be enough to bring one to the conclusion that activation of American military ties with China alerts and disturbs Tokyo. This circumstance creates a real basis for the growth of tension and clashes in the triangle. At the same time, considerable danger exists in the fact that for purposes of "competition for China" both the United States and Japan will make more and more concessions to the PRC as a result of which Beijing will have a possibility to play the "American card" in opposition to the Japanese and vice versa. This can lead to nothing else but the continued growth of the hegemonist ambitions of the Chinese leadership.

U.S. attempts to reduce Japanese and over the long term Chinese competition in the markets of Asia through the burdening of these countries with additional military preparations--this, as they say, is a stick with two ends. Weakening of the Japanese economic challenge in Asia could result in a stronger military challenge. The

same in the long-term plan should be said about China. On the other hand, the annual deficit of 10 billion dollars of the United States in its trade with Japan serves as a kind of tribute which American capitalism pays the Japanese for its "good behavior" in Asia. Should the United States eliminate it through tightening of protectionist measures, as many across the ocean are demanding, then Japanese competition would shift from the American to the Asian market, which could only lead to an exacerbation of American-Japanese conflict of interests.

If, for example, the famous "Fukuda doctrine," officially approved by the present Japanese premier Suzuki, were to be analyzed, it might be described as the antipode of the "Nixon doctrine." This doctrine raises the question of "Japanization" of policy in a certain sector of the Asia-Pacific Ocean region. In accordance with it, Japan agrees to assume a certain economic burden and, moreover, to double it in the next five years. Not the burden of military expenditures, but the burden of economic "aid" for the countries of Southeast Asia? For what reason? First of all, taking advantage of the crisis of American neocolonialism, to return some of the economic positions in Asia to itself which it lost as a result of World War II. Thus, it concerns Japan's economic challenge of the United States, a new round of competition of the imperialist powers for markets and control over the sources of raw materials on the Asian continent. All this naturally cannot but help undermine the militarist coordination of American-Japanese policy on which Washington relies.

A whole series of allies of the United States in Asia as well as states friendly to it constitute weak links, regimes with much internal social tension, which could at any moment break out into civil conflict. This, on the one hand, would complicate the tasks facing American policy and, on the other, under the conditions of the U.S. general policy of militarization of the region, is fraught with explosions transcending the limits of local conditions.

In speaking of factors hindering the realization of Washington's aggressive schemes, not to take into account the fact that, in distinction to the United States, which has ostensibly overcome the "Vietnamese syndrome," the people in Asia quite well remember the lessons of the U.S. Indochinese venture, in particular the cynical pragmatism and perfidy of American policy. This character is confirmed in U.S. post-Vietnamese policy. There is probably not a single large country in Asia with respect to which American policy has not gone through in the past decade sharp turns, changes, zigzags and movements in diametrically opposite directions. What has been said is true in regard to Japan, India, Pakistan, South Korea and the Philippines and even China despite the general tendency for an American-Chinese rapprochement. Washington's pirouettes (the Hong Kong journal FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW called them "full-scale schizophrenia in policy") are to be explained first of all by the fact that the United States is pursuing in Asia self-seeking political aims which have little in common with the aims of Asian stability or with the aspirations of many of the region's states. And this is well understood among the leading circles of most of the Asian states.

Undoubtedly, all these objective factors limit the great-power ambitions of the United States; but in any case, their influence is sufficiently great to complicate the realization of the hegemonist task advanced by the present American administration—to begin talks with the Soviet Union "from a position of strength" both in Asia and in Europe simultaneously with the creation of a "position of strength" in strategic armaments.

It is natural that all these factors complicating the realization of the hegemonist tasks in Asia advanced by Washington's administration serve as a supplement to the main factor—the actual strength of the positions of the USSR on the continent, the adequacy of its military potential for rebuffing any threat that might be created by the United States and its allies to the interests of our country in the Far East.

In order to exclude a situation which creates a threat to security and peace in the Far East and in the basin of the Pacific Ocean, hindering cooperation and good-neighborliness in this region, it is necessary, while it is still not too late, to relieve tension, to replace increased confrontation with a political settlement of problems, the implementation of measures of trust and measures for the prevention of slipping into a big military conflict.

In his report presented at the 26th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, L.I. Brezhnev formulated a new Soviet Program of Peace containing a whole series of constructive ideas having a direct bearing on the region of Asia and the Pacific Ocean. They include a proposal on limitation of deployment of submarines of the Ohio type (the Trident system) and similar Soviet submarines of the Tayfun type, a proposal on measures for prevention of the arising of new centers of conflicts and in this connection—on the holding of talks on measures of trust in the Far East with all interested countries.

Of major significance is a proposal by Mongolia to conclude a convention on mutual nonaggression and nonuse of force in relations among the states of Asia and the Pacific Ocean.

The realization of these initiatives is the way to improvement of the situation in the Asia-Pacific Ocean region.

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